JN
227
1885
H67c

HOFFMANN

CATECHISM OF POLITICS

THE LIBRARY
OF
THE UNIVERSITY
OF CALIFORNIA
LOS ANGELES

REFERENCE DEPARTMENT
THE
NATIONAL UNION.
6 JUN. 93
POLITICAL LIBRARY.

A CATECHISM OF POLITICS.

THE
NATIONAL UNION,
6 JUN.93
LIBRARY.

A CATECHISM

OF

POLITICS,

FOR THE USE OF THE NEW ELECTORATE,

IN WHICH

EVERY QUESTION OF POLITICAL IMPORTANCE, BEARING UPON THE CURRENT EVENTS OF THE DAY, IS ANSWERED FROM A COMMON-SENSE POINT OF VIEW.

BY

FREDERICK A. HOFFMANN

(*Author of "Stray Leaves from Gladstone's Diary," "Shadows of Coming Events," "Conservative Reaction," &c., &c.*).

LONDON:
WARD & DOWNEY, 12, YORK ST., COVENT GARDEN
1885.

[*All rights reserved.*]

PRINTED BY
KELLY AND CO GATE STREET, LINCOLN'S INN FIELDS,
AND KINGSTON-ON-THAMES.

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA
LOS ANGELES
LIBRARY

227
1885
H67c

LIBRARY SETS
DEC 16 1940
HARDING

CONTENTS.

	PAGE
I.—Introduction	7
II.—The Constitutional Party	15
III.—Equal Rights	26
IV.—Trade and Taxes	38
V.—Expenditure	49
VI.—Federation	55

390769

TO THE ELECTORS.

It is understood that the General Election will take place in November. The time for preparation has therefore begun. Those will be wise who turn that time to the best account. This can be done by investigating, each one for himself, the questions which are soon likely to be forced on his attention. Let us glance over these questions briefly before examining them catechetically.

First, as to Land. You will be informed by Radical election agents of a proposal by which the farmer and the labourer are to have the first claims on the land, and the owner to have what remains. It is

proposed that this theory shall apply to uncultivated land, but, of course, your own sense will tell you at once that the right of *compulsory* cultivation, once admitted, must strike at the ownership of the soil. Plainly the proposal is this, that all land which at any time a landowner cannot let will be taken possession of by the State, and, after the farmer and labourer are satisfied, the balance will be paid to the nominal owner. You will see that this is State-theft and corruption of liberty. You may, perhaps, be a farmer, or a labourer (I presume as well that you are an Englishman), but, to understand the question really, you must place yourself in the imaginary position of a landowner. Then pause to ask yourself why you should be selected as the object of spoliation, while

Mr. Chamberlain, the *patron* of this teaching, should be allowed to enjoy, in purely selfish luxury, the enormous wealth which he has wrung from the sweat of his operatives. Ask yourself why theft should be legalised to deprive you of what you may have bought, or, maybe, inherited from those who bought it for you with their lives and services, while Mr. Bright's fortune, *founded on the long-hour factory system*, the limitation of which, by the Ten Hours' Act, he opposed to the last, and which was *carried in the House of Lords* by the *votes of the Bishops* among other peers, should remain untouched? Remember also, that when farming is bad, either through bad seasons, bad laws, or bad prices, the landlord always feels the first pinch, while the blood-sucking capi-

talists bask with fat-bellied impunity in the glitter of their own gold. And mark, also, the danger that lurks in the principle of the thing. The farmer and labourer are associated in the question. But ask yourself: Why favour the farmer? It is the labourer who works, and, if farmers lose the support of the landowners, they will speedily become the prey of the labourers. And you, who are labourers, do you imagine then that you will have it all your own way? Do you think the Radicals are actuated by a love for you? No; it is intense hatred of the landowners! It is hard to tell you that you are being fooled; but it will be harder when you come to realise it. The realisation of your dream will be a life of veritable slavery, and you will find yourself, like your agri-

cultural neighbours in France, driven by sheer necessity to spend your nights and days in *grinding* and continual work in order to live at all.

Secondly. You will hear the House of Lords assailed on the grounds of its past conduct. You will be told that no wonder things are bad, taxes are heavy, landlords are shot in Ireland, and Fenians come over and make disturbances, if there is a House of Lords. You will have leaflets put into your hands abounding in misrepresentations and misstatements, in which the peers will be asserted to have done this, that, and the other, antagonistic to your particular interests. But you will observe that in each case the peers are condemned for "spoiling *Radical* measures," "discrediting

Radical principles," and so on. In every case you will see that the exigencies of party are placed before those of public utility.

THIRDLY, AS REGARDS THE CHURCH. The Radicals are said to be " working to put an end to the special power which the State gives to the Church of England, and they wish to have the enormous wealth of the Church spent for the good of church and chapel alike." Now, before you swallow such nice nonsense as this, you must calculate the gains and the losses which the question will involve. Remember that the secularisation of Church property which Disestablishment means will mean for you the beginning of religion over again from its foundations. Get your friend the

parson to tell you the true side of the question before you vote.

Fourthly. It is not improbable that Republicanism will be held up as a luscious morsel for innocent ignorance. You must tell your Radicals that if they can get you a Republic without a revolution you will have it, but that you love your lives and your families too much to enter on a bloody campaign which is to give you, in the end, you-know-not-what. Ask them what the new society and the new politics are to do for you—what more they will give you in the way of freedom, morals, literature, or religion. Under the mixed Constitution of this country your lives and property have hitherto been secure; the settled and ascertained opinion of the nation has been

sufficient to accomplish all necessary changes. Seek to know, then, for what gain, now, agitation against the Constitution is afloat, private property is attacked, and spoliation advocated. Notice that they promise to *free* anything and everything *that does not belong to them*. Ask them why they do not commence with themselves—start dividing their own enormous riches? If they object to this idea, ask them if they had not better begin by giving the world a new Decalogue?

Lastly. Attend political meetings and weigh what you hear. You don't want things described by their negatives. See that the idea is made clear, not that it is made affecting to the imagination only.

THE CONSTITUTIONAL PARTY.

"The Tory Party is only in its proper position when it represents popular principles. There it is truly irresistible. Then it can uphold the Throne and the Altar, the Majesty of the Empire, the Liberty of the Nation, and the Rights of the Multitude. There is nothing mean, petty, or exclusive about the real character of Toryism. It necessarily depends upon enlarged sympathies, and noble aspirations, because it is essentially national."—BEACONSFIELD.

Q. What are the primary things which the British Electors will have to consider at the coming election?

A. Whether they will be guided in political life by experience, or by socialistic notions of the Rights of Man and Equality.

Q. What political party do you favour?

A. The party that protects English

interests best, and therefore of necessity the Constitutional party—nominally "Conservative."

Q. Why of "necessity" in this respect, the Conservative party?

A. Because the Conservative party is the only truly National party: in the words of its late lamented leader—"Unless it *is* a National party it is nothing; it is not a Democratic multitude, it is a party formed from all the numerous classes in the realm—classes alike equal before the law, but whose different conditions and different aims give vigour and variety to our national life."

Q. Between what political parties will the electoral struggle lay?

A. Between Conservatives and Radicals —Constitutionalism and Communism.

Q. What are the respective claims of each upon the new voters? Have you nothing to give them but what is already provided under the Constitution?

A. No; we have no bribes to offer them; we cannot promise to make them perennially happy by the mere magic of an Act of Parliament; we have no plunder to offer them, either from the land, the Church, or the State.

Q. How then do you expect to secure their votes?

A. By simply pointing out to them that *settled order* is their greatest blessing; that if ever they are raised from their present position *they must raise themselves*, for no laws and no parliaments can do it for them; that our land system, our Church system, and other "anomalies," anathematized by Radicals, go down to the very foundations of our Constitution, and cannot be uprooted without such a revolution as would mean for them ruin or even worse.

Q. You will be at a disadvantage. Radical teachings require nothing more than a selfish soul, and a craving

stomach to understand them, while the teachings of Conservatism require some knowledge of human nature and history.

A. This is exactly what must be pointed out to them. They must be taught that *they have duties as well as rights;* that as Englishmen they are necessarily citizens of the British Empire, which, founded by Britons, and bought by British blood, should be populated and farmed by British men and women.

Q. Why! there are too many people to live on the land as our fathers did.

A. Just so; but our fathers had not the safe and easy outlet to the Colonies that we have now. How much better would it be for the Radical school to cry "emigration"—for rich and poor alike, who choose—than to preach a system of "confiscation," which must eventually overturn the country, and ruin the people?

Q. It is said, that, bearing upon the

current questions of the day, the Conservative party have no policy?

A. That is a mistake. The Conservative policy is nothing more than Liberal policy nationalised. All that is good in the Liberal programme is to be found in that of the Conservatives; *it is the method of attainment only which is different*—one revolutionary, the other reformatory.

Q. But during the recent five years' Liberal reign, what policy had ever the Tories to offer in exchange for whatever they may have condemned?

A. It is the business of an Oppposition to oppose. Yet, apart from the great questions of Church and State, the rights of property, the maintenance of the Commons and the Crown—in a word, the preservation, under altered circumstances, of the mixed constitution of this country, the Conservative party did intimate the foreign, the fiscal, and the financial policy they would pursue when they were in

office. Its fulfilment has, in fact, already commenced.

Q. Can you state the fiscal and financial policy laid down by the Conservatives?

A. These will be found under our heading, "Trade and Taxes."

Q. What are the Conservative views about property?

A. Briefly, that *no rights are safe where property is not safe.* As in France in the last century, and as in Ireland to-day, punishment, imprisonment and death follow swiftly by some mysterious law on the heels of confiscation. That a policy which sets class against class, and fills all men's minds with disquiet and mistrust, is the most dangerous thing for history, and the poisoner of trade and commerce.*

Q. What are their views on stagnation of trade?

A. That it means want of capital em-

* "The Tory Policy of the Marquis of Salisbury," by P. H. Bagenall, B.A.

barked in trade; and that attacks on the security of tenure in property make the capitalist shrink into his shell. Such attacks have already done a large share of their evil work. Land is no longer looked upon as the safest and soundest of all possible investments; capital is being driven from the land, and we are getting to a state of affairs in which it will be impossible for agriculture to survive.

Q. What is their policy respecting Imperialism and Federation?

A. Their policy, as respects the former, is to open up the markets of the world to this country, and for this reason they would extend the empire. Their policy in respect to the latter will be found under the heading, "Federation."

Q. What measures have they recommended which may be said to be for the welfare of the people?

A. Did not the late Lord Cairns, supported by a Conservative Cabinet, do more

than any other politician to free the hands of the would-be purchasers of land? Was not Sir Richard Cross the first to introduce any really practical plan for dealing with the re-housing of the poor? And now, is it not the Marquis of Salisbury who, by his speeches and writings, has made himself responsible for a still larger measure of reform in this field?

Q. What do you regard as the most urgent reform of the day?

A. The re-housing of the poor. It concerns the social well-being of the people; it has deeper philanthropic than political importance, and we were fully confident that Lord Salisbury would redeem his pledges in regard to it. He is doing so.

Q. To what other measures of importance have the Conservatives pledged themselves?

A. To set on foot an exhaustive enquiry into the present depression of trade, and to make a new departure in taxation. Against

the latter the Liberals are arrayed as one man, and it will be a struggle by the Conservatives of Right against Might; but the former is emphatically a question for the working man to decide, and we feel certain that it will ultimately become the question which will prove to the British workmen that the Conservative is the only party which considers their real as opposed to their temporary advantage.

Q. How do the Conservatives stand in relation to the Drink Question? Will they pledge themselves at the coming election to assist what is called the "Temperance Movement."

A. We think so, but at least we hope they will pledge themselves with discretion. Not long since two members of Parliament were returned for a large town *solely* through the influence of two clergymen, who persuaded many of the voters to reject the proper men because they would

not pledge themselves to assist the "Temperance" cause.

Q. What do you see mischievous in that?

A. Simply this, that those men have since voted for Atheism and the disestablishment of the Church (from which they obtained their support).

Q. Still, as a social evil, do you not think that drink is the greatest?

A. No; English society has many terrible enemies to fear besides drunkenness.

Q. Name a worse evil?

A. Improvident marriages, by which thousands and thousands of poor children are brought into the world to live in squalor and pressing want, and be instructed in the rudiments of crime by their ruthless and reckless parents. Why not then a Church of England Temperance Marriage Society? For the professed support of the so-called "Temperance Movement," we are ready to elect men whose principles are Malthusian,

and whose scripture is the "Fruits of Philosophy." Abject want is a greater instigator to crime than drunkenness (nay, it often leads to drunkenness in the end), and improvident marriages and profligacy produce more misery than fermented drinks Drunkenness is confessedly an evil—a gigantic evil—but very often it is the effect as well as the cause of misery. The great question is to attack the pre-disposing cause of intemperance. This the Conservative Government has commenced to do. Meanwhile, in politics, in drink, in religion, the profession of Conservatives is Christian liberty.

EQUAL RIGHTS.

"Where there is confiscation or robbery, be it illegal or by legal forms, there confidence will disappear. Where confidence disappears, there industry will perish; and where industry perishes, the labouring man will starve. When these wretched fads have disappeared, there is no one so much as the poorest of the labouring classes who will sympathise with you in upholding that which has made the civilization of England the envy of the world."—Lord Salisbury, May 20th, 1885.

Q. How do the Conservatives look upon the rights of property ?

A. If honestly acquired, *as sacred and inviolable.*

Q. How do they propose to deal with the holders of such extreme views as "the Rights of Man" and "Perfect Equality" ?

A. By common-sense arguments dealing with the absurdity of their ideas.

Q. Can you tell me who first instituted the theory of "Perfect Equality"?

A. It was the dream of a French philosopher, Rousseau, and has survived only as an effort of the imagination.

Q. Could it be brought within the range of practical politics?

A. No; because it is certain that no man is born free, and rarely that two men are ever nearly equal at any period of their respective lives.

Q. Are there any men living who still cling to the practicability of Democratic equality?

A. Yes, strange to say, men of the literary knowledge of John Morley.

Q. How is this to be accounted for?

A. Because "equality," as a theory, is favourable to political dogmatism. It is opposed to everything in existence but itself, and, once accepted, saves all need for further enquiry.

Q. You think "enquiry" into the

doctrine of perfect equality would immediately upset it?

A. Assuredly. When a man, by his labour *or services*, has created a value, this value can only pass into the hands of another by one of the following modes—as a gift, by exchange, by loan, or by theft.*

Q. But the Socialists' aim is to enrich *all* classes at the expense of each other?

A. In that case it would come under the latter form, and be simply "theft legalised."

Q. Do not morality and religion make it a duty for men, especially the rich, to deprive themselves voluntarily of that which they possess in favour of their less fortunate brethren?

A. Yes; but that is an entirely *moral* obligation.

Q. Could it not be admitted in practice, or sanctioned by law?

A. No. If it were asserted on principle

* Bastial s "Political Economy."

that every man has a right to the property of another, the gift would have no merit—charity and gratitude would cease to be virtues.

Q. Would equality in respect to the rights of property be dangerous in any other way?

A. Yes; it would universally arrest labour and production; for who would work if there was no longer to be any connection between labour and the satisfying of our wants?

Q. Is there any feasible objection to be raised against the right of inheritance?

A. No. That which a man has produced, he may consume, exchange, or give, and what is more natural than that he should give it to his children? It is this power which inspires him with courage to labour and to save.

Q. Why, then, is the right of inheritance called in question?

A. Because it is imagined that the

property thus transmitted is plundered from the masses. Political economy peremptorily demonstrates that "all value produced is a creation which does no harm to any person whatever; for that reason it may be consumed, and, still more, transmitted, without hurting anyone."

Q. How do you bring equality to bear in respect to the suffrage? Do you see any reason why we should not have manhood suffrage?

A. Yes.

Q. On what grounds?

A. On the grounds of incapacity and irresponsibility.

Q. Why are women prevented from voting?

A. Because they are presumed to be incapable.

Q. And why is incapacity a motive for exclusion?

A. Because the elector does not reap alone the responsibility of his vote; be-

cause every vote affects the community at large.

Q. Are you in favour of disqualification, on the same grounds, of paupers, or persons receiving medical relief?

A. Yes; on the ground taken up by Sir Charles Dilke, who argues that "to remove the disqualification would be to take away the greatest of all inducements which exists in the country to lead people to join friendly or provident societies."

Q. Explain this further?

A. If a certain farm-labourer knows that he shall lose his vote by accepting medical relief gratuitously, he will be the more anxious to join a club, which would supply his need in that respect, or by some other means prevent himself from becoming pauperised, and therefore disfranchised, in case of illness.

Q. The argument, then, in favour of such disqualification is on the principle of "self-help"?

A. Yes; of which the Liberals profess to be the staunchest advocates.

Q. Reverting to the question of "Women's Rights"—is it wholly on the ground of incapacity that you object to that doctrine?

A. Not wholly on that ground, but because the theory is itself contrary to common-sense, and simply flying in the face of Nature.

Q. Explain?

A. Each sex is personally endowed with physical and mental qualities which fit it for the duties devolved upon it by the ordinances of creation and development, and any straining of these qualities, either in the sense of exaggeration or repression, is opposed to the spirit of the evolutionary law.

Q. Give a more practical argument?

A. Because it must tend eventually to destroy the harmony of social life.

Q. How do you look upon the question of "Free Land"?

A. Simply as another form of legalised plunder — a violation of liberty and property.

Q. Do you think the idea impracticable?

A. Yes, not less than pernicious, if we would retain our present state of settled order and government.

Q. What have you to say against a system of peasant-proprietorship?

A. Passing over the theft which such a system would legalise, let me ask, how could it be made practicable? How would the new owners make the system pay without capital, training, or experience?

Q. As to capital, that would be provided by their new masters.

A. Then, surely, the new master of the peasant proprietor—the money lender—would be a worse ogre than the landlord.

Q. But there are cases of peasant proprietorships having paid.

A. That is no proof that the system

would pay if applied to the country at large. Where would be the room for manufactories, grazing land for large flocks of sheep, burial-grounds, and so on? If we could even crystallize such a system into an experiment, we should only be taking the first step towards reducing the English agricultural system to the level of the Irish. Moreover, ask the tenant-farmer himself, with capital and experience at his back, whether he has any ambition to become a proprietor; he will tell you no, so long as he can hire land at a return of ten per cent., for if he set up as a farmer-proprietor, he would have to sink three-fourths of his money in the land at two per cent. and would only receive ten per cent. on the remaining quarter. Yet what is impossible for the practical farmer, the Radicals expect to make a possibility for the labourer.

Q. Why then should these men wish to force such a scheme upon us?

A. It is simply an attack upon the landowners; to depreciate the value of landed property, and serve as an electoral bait.

Q. But, Sir Charles Dilke, referring to the condition of agricultural labourers, declares that "the holding of large estates decreases in various ways the agricultural yield of the country." If this is the case, the large landowner is the right person to be attacked.

A. Let this be admitted. But evidence attests just the other way. The system of large farms allows the profitable use of labour-saving machinery, ensures the clearing away of useless hedges and ditches, and the utilisation of every square yard of land; it results in good roads being made, in the best manures being used, and generally in the extraction of the largest possible amount of produce from the soil. If indeed this draining, enclosing and cultivating of marsh and fen be theft, let the Radicals explain what

theft is. Small holdings, cultivated by peasant proprietors, would mean spade labour, the most profitless form of husbandry; it would mean the practical extinction of the larger agriculture, such as grain-growing and stock-raising, in favour of the smaller; such as the cultivation of cabbages and potatoes. It would reduce our annual supply of home-grown food by more than one-half, and throw us more and more upon the mercy of the foreigner. As a system, it is directly opposed to every principle of political economy.

Q. But Sir Charles Dilke declares it to be a question above all economies.

A. Then he is not a disciple of Mr. Cobden. Either we decide these questions of political economy or we do not. If we do, then peasant farming stands condemned on the best evidence. If we do not, then the system of large estates may claim to be pressed on grounds such as those on which not only Lord Beaconsfield, but Mr. Glad-

stone, has defended them. If we look to moral results in the one case, we may look to moral results in the other; and "the good moral effect of a resident gentry, possessed of what, in the Radical philosophy, are large estates, is attested by evidence which only a bigot could resist."

Q. You think, then, equality in wealth and comfort simply a pretty ideal?

A. That is all. If we can get plenty of work, and a good price for doing it, we ought to think ourselves well off, and this is exactly what the Conservative Government are trying, against many difficulties, to get for us. Mr. Chamberlain, embarrassed by his own ideals, has just said "he does not believe that there can be absolute equalities of condition," yet he is the very man whose teaching has impeded the progress of industry and labour.

390769

TRADE AND TAXES.

"The time will come when the working classes of England will come to you on bended knees and pray you to undo your present legislation." — DISRAELI, speaking on Free Trade, 1852.

Q. What are Cobden's arguments and the arguments of his followers founded upon?

A. The arguments of the Cobden Club are founded on the false foundation that, if we can buy the smallest fraction cheaper abroad, the employment of the working classes is of no consequence.

Q. Is that not a sound policy?

A. No. The loss is far greater to the State than the gain, because the State loses the wage-earning and tax-paying powers of the thousands of unemployed operatives.

Q. Do you consider Free Trade injurious to the interests of the working man?

A. If you mean the one-sided Free Trade that England is at present enjoying (?), we say "Yes."

Q. Why?

A. First, because it is useless for the artisan to bring up his children to any industry that can be carried on abroad.

Q. They can carry their brains and labour to other countries?

A. This has been tried, and what is the result? We are beaten in our own markets. Our shops are full of foreign goods.

Q. Yet, during the last twenty years our trade has increased many millions.

A. Truly, and the Board of Trade returns show that other countries have quadrupled their exports at the same time.

Q. But, then, we have by far the largest trade, have we not?

A. Yes, and by far the greatest need of it. Moreover, our nation *depends* upon its foreign trade—France, Germany and Russia can live without it.

Q. You mean they are self-supporting?

A. Yes, so far as the essentials of existence are concerned.

Q. But without trade they would be poorer?

A. Truly, but they would lack neither food nor clothing. Under *our* Free Trade we have converted ourselves into a vast hive of artisans, prosperous so long as our work sells, but without resource when it fails to find a market.

Q. But the system of Free Trade, according to Political Economy, is simply an extension of the principle of the division of labour.

A. That means *universal* Free Trade, but not an isolated and one sided policy such as ours. *If* countries trade freely with each other, the natural consequence

is that each nation gradually increases the production of those commodities for which circumstances have specially adapted it, and at the same time decreases the manufacture of those commodities for which it has no particular facilities for producing, thus diminishing the cost of production.

Q. But England, having taken the lead, is it not likely that other nations will, in time, follow her example?

A. It is not unlikely, but that will not be in our day, nor in that of our children; and it is with these that we are immediately concerned.

Q. Still, you admit the possibility of such a condition of trading eventually?

A. The *possibility*. But, meanwhile, our trade is becoming year by year less expansive in proportion to the increase of our population. The future of English trade is darker still, for it is becoming every year more dependent on the export of coal and iron, not to be replaced, and of its

capital to be employed in other countries in working up the exported raw material of the land. How long can this last? It is the duty of English statesmen to legislate for England and her dominions; to be *national* first, and cosmopolitan afterwards.

Q. How do your arguments bear upon agriculture?

A. We answer by asking how long this country can continue free imports in corn with heavy duties payable to foreign States on her manufactures? Can any system of tenure meet the loss on depreciated produce, caused by low prices and unrestricted competition?

Q. How would the Conservatives deal with the depressed state of agriculture and manufacture?

A. They would propose a modification of the system of free imports, and the adoption of regulated tariff duties on imports; but Lord Salisbury considers a corn

law of any kind impracticable as well as undesirable.

Q. Why?

A. Because the quantity of corn produced in this country is so much below what is required for the daily food of the population, that to import foreign corn is a necessity; that if a corn law were enacted, it would be of so precarious a character that the disturbance of, and uncertainty to, agriculture would be more damaging than any probable advantages likely to follow. Even the competition for labour in towns is aggravated by the influx of agricultural labourers, and generally of persons born in rural districts, into the towns.

Q. What is the reason of the latter?

A. That corn land being turned into grass land, instead of three men to a hundred acres, one man is sufficient.

Q. But it is proposed that, so as to enable landowners and farmers to compete

against foreign agriculture, rates and taxes should be reduced, that the general taxation of the country should be raised from the general wealth of the country, and not mainly from what is called real estate and capital invested in agriculture.

A. Yes, that was attempted in Mr. Childer's defeated Budget. But have you read what Lord Salisbury says of such a proposal? "It is quite right," he says, "that lands and houses should pay their fair share, but I should like it to be remembered that lands and houses already pay an enormous surplusage of taxation in the form of rates. The legislation which puts all the burden of rates on that one solitary interest is one of the great blots on our financial legislation.*

Q. How was it that Free Trade was prosperous for so many years under

* This is instanced by Lord Salisbury in his speeches at Welshpool and Hackney in April and May 1885.

Peel's policy of Free Imports and direct taxes?

A. Times were different; the productive forces of the world have marvellously changed since 1842, but high tariff duties against this country are continued, and in most cases increased. Who can say now that there is a single national and industrial trade thriving? Peel's policy is exhausted, and only those whose reputation depended on its success remain to defend it.

Q. You think, then, one country should deal with another on equal terms?

A. Yes. If we import foreign goods, we should compel foreign nations to take our own manufactures free also. By the duties we are called upon to pay we simply support the armaments of other countries, which we can little afford. In 1842, Peel himself said that the free import theory would be made more advantageous to this country by a corresponding policy in

duties imposed on British manufactures by other countries, and that this country had a right to ask for that advantage. These are the very lines upon which the Conservative party advocate free trade, contending, like Peel, that no abstract theory ought to bind a nation's import duties.

Q. But yet hundreds of free-traders at the present day think it heresy to raise taxes by import duties.

A. Yes, and if war happened to occur, say between England and Russia, how long would your present system of free imports be continued? The past would be repeated, and there would be import duties and subsidies to allies. The free trade theory was always associated with peace. Cobden looked complacently to the future as a period of peace and extended trade. It was the dream of a visionary.

Q. But war has been avoided?

A. For the present; who will foretell

the future? And certainly, if once entered on, it would shake the theories and falsify the prognostications of the free trade school of economists to the uttermost. There are interests beyond the mere sale of cotton goods, and even cheap or low-priced foreign corn. Bread is a great blessing, but it is of little worth if the poor man has no money to buy it with.

Q. You think it impossible, at least, then, to guarantee a permanency to our commercial system?

A. Yes; our export trade can only last while other nations continue to purchase of us, and becomes less and less every year. When this fails, with its accompanying diminution of labour, where will the maintenance fall?

Q. On the land.

A. And if the land cannot defray the expense of its cultivation?

Q. You think, then, that the respective merits of "Free Trade" and "Protection"

have undergone a change since the last generation?

A. Without a doubt. While the disciples of Adam Smith, Mill, and others, were all impassioned Free Traders, the masters of modern economic science are inclined to speak of Free Trade with dubious approval; and more than one of them hints that even the theory—contradicted as it is by facts—needs revision. Free Trade in words, involving benefits to Radical sections of the community, is more consistent with feudal times than with this Victorian age. If we are to continue in competition with the Continent, let us carry no more taxation than our continental neighbours, and then we can go on successfully. Whatever may be said of Free Trade, Cobden's "Free Trade" is a failure, on the authority of experience, local losses, and bullion statistics.

EXPENDITURE.

"I charge them with the mismanagement of finance and an extravagant scale of expenditure."—W. E. Gladstone, December 1st, 1879.

"You were offered in 1874 the repeal of the Income Tax. . . . We were ready to repeal the Income Tax."—W. E. Gladstone, November 29, 1879.

Q. In whatever other particulars the Liberal Government may be allowed to have been weak, you will of course admit that they were strong in finance?

A. Certainly not; since they were unable to maintain the principles to which they were pledged.

Q. In what respects?

A. Five years ago, Mr. Gladstone, de-

nouncing the faults of his predecessors, asserted one principle with the most unbending sternness; it was that, "If you wish to have a sound and honest finance you must pay your way"— that is, you must take care the balance is on the right side at the end of the year. Now, the balance left uncovered by the last Liberal Budget was £7,432,000, while, in the Chancellor of the Exchequer's own words, his deficit was the largest which had been placed before the House of Commons since the Crimean War.

Q. Compare the expenditures of the Government of Lord Beaconsfield and Mr. Gladstone.

A. Mr. Chamberlain's own figures show for the Liberal Government an additional expenditure of 54½ millions, or an average of nine millions more per annum than the expenditure of the Conservatives.

Q. But you must allow for difference of circumstances?

A. This we do: we say nothing to the soundness of the principle laid down by Mr. Gladstone in 1879. No man can deny that it is a prudent thing to restrict expenditure within the limits of income, though there are times when even a prudent man may borrow to meet a pressing necessity. But the stern moralist who lays down an inflexible rule of conduct, and applies it rigorously to others, ought not to be the one to abandon his own principles the moment the strain comes which ought to prove their strength.

Q. You contend that if any elasticity were to be permitted in its application, that circumstance should have been properly recognised in the criticisms applied to the Conservative Government?

A. Yes; it is Mr. Gladstone's dereliction of principle that raises contempt. Take again the subject of taxation. On the 29th November, 1879, Mr. Gladstone said: "We are not fond of taxation;" yet, in the

whole of the last administration, according to their own figures, the Liberal Government took from the British taxpayers forty-one millions more in taxes than the Beaconsfield Government did in the same space of time, or an average of nearly £7,000,000 more per annum.

Q. But the Government had to pay off the whole of the war charges, bequeathed to them by the Conservatives, and which amounted to half a-million a year.

A. Well, let that be deducted from the nine millions extra expenditure, there was still an increase of six and a half millions per annum against the Gladstone Government, while, after *all* "Tory legacies" have been paid off, the estimated Liberal expenditure was nearly a hundred millions sterling.

Q. But, under the circumstances, that was a necessary demand.

A. Yes; and thus we have brought home to our minds the real bearing of the

Egyptian and Russian questions. There is indelibly written on our memories the £25,000,000 *wasted* on Egypt and the Soudan, the £20,000,000 spent in rolling back the war-cloud from our Indian Empire, which ought never to have been allowed to gather; the £100,000,000 budget, which ended in the late Government defeat, and the £15,000,000 deficit. It disposes, once and for ever, of the Liberal boast of superiority in matters of finance. Every one of the "canons of finance" enumerated by Mr. Gladstone at Midlothian, were, like the rest of his promises, broken. Even the method of meeting their increased expenditure shows an entire want of financial ability. It was to be met simply by adopting the rough and ready process of taxing the taxed. Increased burdens were to be given to the already over-burdened, and neither ingenuity nor charity was exercised in effort to distribute the weight,

though many plans were suggested for making those who indulge in luxuries pay for the luxuries they can afford. It is to be hoped the electors will bear these things in mind.

Q. *Apropos* of this, what have you to say to Mr. Chamberlain's suggestion of raising revenue by a graduated income tax or house tax?

A. We should say in Mr. Gladstone's words that "it would be an unjust and wicked impost."

FEDERATION.

"Is it not a sorry sight, with the fact that our Empire boasts of 250 million subjects facing us, that a desultory warfare in the deserts of Egypt, with semi-barbarous Arabs, necessitated recourse to the Guards, and that the despatch of less than 10,000 men should so strain our resources as to require a Royal proclamation to call out the Reserves, the Militia, and possibly the Volunteers."—*Vide* Press, May, 1885.

Q. Do you think the agitation for "Federation" a favourable sign?

A. A most welcome sign; it would largely remedy the evils of which we have but now been speaking.

Q. What would you mean by the term "Federation"?

A. Do you mean Federation as affects

those constitutional questions which belong to its various provinces?

Q. No; exclusively as it is applied to the British Empire.

A. In that sense we take it to mean the settlement of obligations and rights for the welfare of the whole body politic, the blending into one harmonious whole of our Imperial interests—in plainer language, the check and prevention of disintegration, and the utilization for its benefit of all the products and forces of the Empire.

Q. Why do you think the idea of Federation is one born in good time?

A. For some time England pursued a policy of disintegration. The disestablishment of the Irish Church was pregnant with serious consequences. It was a first indication that the bonds of union were to be relaxed. It was a fatal admission that Ireland was a separate country, its people a separate people, requiring special treatment, different laws,

different ecclesiastical arrangements. It dealt with Imperial questions in a way dangerous to stability; it was a premium on agitation of a most mischievous kind; it implied that Ireland was a nation instead of part of a nation, and that she had distinctive natural rights, which it was then prophesied truly would culminate in a demand for autonomy.

Q. Do you think Mr. Gladstone foresaw the results that would arise from his action towards the Irish Church?

A. No; it is to be questioned whether Mr. Gladstone felt even the responsibility of his act. Look at his manifest indifference towards our Colonies and dependencies; cast your thoughts on India, South Africa, Egypt, Australia. We seemed, during his late ministry, to have taken very subordinate views of the political matters that engaged not only our attention but the attention of other countries.

Q. You mention Egypt. In what re-

spect are our colonial relations affected by Egypt?

A. In respect to the Suez Canal and our trade route to India and Australia. Our insular position, our supremacy at sea, and the discovery round the Cape of Good Hope, have given us an independent position, with ready access to all the countries of the world, and enabled the products of our industry to compete on favourable conditions in all markets, even under the unfavourable influence of hostile tariffs. Thus, we rightly feel the importance affecting our control of the Suez Canal, and our relations with Egypt are at present very questionable.

Q What would a Conservative administration have done with regard to Colonial policy under similar circumstances?

A. It would have recognised and maintained the Queen's supremacy in South Africa; strengthened our defences of India by retaining Candahar; and used the

inheritance, bequeathed by Lord Beaconsfield, of honourable peace and perfect amity with the civilised world by acts of commercial enterprise and civil importance, It would probably have devoted its attention to the question of the gradual development of the railroad system, which at no distant date will connect Europe with Asia.

Q. With what object?

A. As Russia advances to the frontier of India, and extends her railroad system in that direction, one of the results will probably be to bring India into more or less direct communication with the railway system of Europe, and to give the manufactures of Germany a ready access to the markets of the East.

Q. But there are some—many amongst the Radical school of politicians—who think the Colonies a burden upon the mother country?

A. Yes; but facts, you see, point to the

contrary. It is amongst the first and most vital problems of the day, how the Colonies and the mother country can mutually aid each other, so that, in an Imperial sense, there may be a vast industrial country, producing and distributing wealth for the gain of the whole. India and the Colonies have the means of amply supplying the home market with agricultural produce.

Q. Would not this be impossible under absolute free trade?

A. Certainly it would. The Colonists are not free traders, and to *wait* until they become so would be to practically abandon Federation.

Q. In this instance you think, then, it is the old State that has most to gain?

A. Assuredly; for it can, without loss of dignity, and evident advantage, meet the industrial wants and wishes of the Colonies. There can be no doubt that recent events as well as the emphatic testimony of men like Lord Rosebery, Mr. Forster, and Mr.

Goschen have done much to bring home to English people what the colonists, for their part, are not likely to forget—that the welfare of the mother country and of the Colonies depends on their close union. This is the lesson which, above all, requires to be taught to the workmen of the towns and the new electors of the counties. To show those who are naturally inclined to vote for limiting and cutting down the responsibilities of the country, that if the empire is allowed to shrink, trade will shrink with it. It is not "lust of empire" that is sought, but the interest of the trading classes. We have got Canada, and South Africa, and Australia, and India, and if we would continue our world-wide commerce, we must keep them.

AN APOLOGY FOR THE LIFE

OF THE

RIGHT HON. W. E. GLADSTONE;

OR,

THE NEW POLITICS.

"You go not till I set you up a glass
Where you may see the inmost part of you."

OPINIONS OF THE PRESS.

"*The book is both instructive and interesting, and it is especially valuable in view of the coming general election. It ought to be placed in every Conservative and Liberal club in the kingdom.*"—Bury Guardian.

"One of the most comprehensive and powerful indictments against Mr. Gladstone that has ever been issued."—*England.*

"A clever book. . . . Though severe in his judgments he is scrupulously accurate in his statements of fact, and very rarely passes what may be termed the line of fair criticism."
—*Nottingham Guardian.*

"This is a cruel piece of work. The writer's accuracy is quite unimpeachable, and he has collected his facts with such industry, and marshalled them with such skill, that the book would have been crushing if Mr. Gladstone had any reputation to lose."—*Vanity Fair.*

"A clever, if merciless, account of the life of the ex-Premier, judged from a Conservative point of view, with a rather scathing commentary on his sayings and doings from the year of his birth, compiled by the journalist who wrote 'Letters to My Son Herbert.' To Conservatives this volume will be a perfect mine of information."—*Publishers' Circular.*

"Partly biographical and partly satirical, this is a very clever production."—*Edinburgh Courant.*

"The author of the book pursues Mr. Gladstone pitilessly throughout his political career, every event of which he causes either to adorn a tale or to point a moral. The book distorts nothing and conceals nothing. . . . Appropriately published at the present time, as it demonstrates at once lightly and laboriously the long course of political imposture by which Mr. Gladstone has become famous."

—*Bristol Times and Mirror.*

"A bitter attack on Mr. Gladstone and all his doings from the day of his birth . . . No doubt this book will be used as an armoury from which weapons may be drawn by Mr. Gladstone's opponents."—*Hampshire Telegraph.*

"The book will hardly amuse Mr. Gladstone, if he can be induced to read it, but it will irritate many of his admirers."

—*London Figaro.*

WARD & DOWNEY, Publishers, 12, York Street, Covent Garden, London.

New Books at all Libraries and Booksellers'.

THE UNPOPULAR KING: The Life and Times of Richard III. By ALFRED O. LEGGE, Author of "The History of the Papacy," &c. 2 vols. Demy 8vo., with illustrations.

SONGS FROM THE NOVELISTS. Edited, and with Introduction and Notes, by W. DAVENPORT ADAMS. Foolscap 4to. Printed in coloured ink on handsome paper. Bound in illuminated vellum. Rough edges, gilt top, 12s. 6d.

PHILOSOPHY IN THE KITCHEN: General Hints on Foods and Drinks. By AN OLD BOHEMIAN. Crown 8vo., price 3s. 6d.

VICTOR HUGO: His Life and Work. By GEORGE BARNETT SMITH. Crown 8vo., with a Portrait of Victor Hugo, &c.

AN APOLOGY FOR THE LIFE OF THE RIGHT HON. W. E. GLADSTONE: or, The New Politics. Crown 8vo., 7s. 6d.

RUSSIA UNDER THE TZARS. By STEPNIAK, Author of "Underground Russia." Translated by WILLIAM WESTALL. 2nd Edition. 2 vols. crown 8vo., 18s.

COURT LIFE BELOW STAIRS: or, London Under the Four Georges. By J. FITZGERALD MOLLOY. 2 vols. crown 8vo. 12s.

LEAVES FROM THE LIFE OF A SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT. By JOHN AUGUSTUS O'SHEA. 2 vols. crown 8vo. 12s.

In September will be Published, in 2 vols., with Illustrations,

A NEW AND IMPORTANT WORK,

By J. FITZGERALD MOLLOY,

Author of "COURT LIFE BELOW STAIRS," &c.

THE NEW NOVELS.

IN SIGHT OF LAND. By Lady Duffus Hardy, Author of "Beryl Fortescue," &c. 3 vols., 31s. 6d.

LORD VANECOURT'S DAUGHTER. By Mabel Collins, Author of "The Prettiest Woman in Warsaw.' 3 vols. 31s. 6d.

AS IN A LOOKING GLASS. By F. C. Philips, 2 vols., 21s.

A PRINCE OF DARKNESS. By the Author of "The House on the Marsh," &c. 3 vols., 31s. 6d.

THE OUTLAW OF ICELAND. Translated from the French of Victor Hugo by Sir Gilbert Campbell. 1 vol., 2s. 6d.

THE SACRED NUGGET. By B. L. Farjeon, Author of "Great Porter Square," &c. 3 vols., 31s. 6d.

THE FLOWER OF DOOM. By M. Betham-Edwards, Author of "Kitty," "Love and Mirage," &c. 6s.

MORNING GREY. By G. M., Author of "Ade.' 3 vols., 31s. 6d.

LIKE LOST SHEEP: a Riverside Story. By Arnold Gray, Author of "The Wild Warringtons." 3 vols., 31s. 6d.

A MAIDEN ALL FORLORN. By the Author of "Phyllis," "Molly Bawn," &c. 3 vols., 31s. 6d.

LIL LORIMER. By Theo Gift, Author of "A Matter-of-Fact Girl," &c. 3 vols., 31s. 6d.

Now Ready at all Booksellers'.—Cloth extra, price 6s.

VICTOR HUGO: HIS LIFE AND WORK.

By G. BARNETT SMITH,

Author of "Poets and Novelists," "Shelley: A Critical Biography,' Etc.

WITH AN ENGRAVED PORTRAIT OF VICTOR HUGO.

OPINIONS OF THE PRESS.

"THE ACADEMY."

"This volume appears very opportunely. . . . If any English reader wants a general account of Victor Hugo, then such a reader will find his requirements not inadequately supplied by Mr. Barnett Smith."

"NORTH BRITISH MAIL."

"The only book which relates the full story of Hugo's life. . . . Mr. Barnett Smith began this study last year, and his volume is therefore not a hasty compilation thrown together since Hugo's death, as some might imagine. The record has been drawn up with the most painstaking care. It contains evidence in every chapter of critical insight as well as of unwearied industry, and it is written with much brightness and vivacity. . . . Nowhere have we found Mr. Smith allowing his admiration of Hugo to affect his statement of facts. He has produced a book that was very much wanted, and the volume is one which no English student of Victor Hugo can afford to overlook. It is dedicated in graceful terms to Mr Swinburne."

"MORNING POST."

"The volume under notice is not, as might be supposed by those readers who do not pay much attention to the announcements of forthcoming literature, a hurried and superficial biography, prepared to meet the demand for information which inevitably arises among the ignorant majority upon the death of some notable person whose name is more famous than his achievements. World-wide as the circulation of Hugo's works has been for many years, it may safely be said that there are many to-day among those who have talked most of the departed worthy, and who are by no means to be classed with the uneducated, yet who have scarcely read a line that Hugo wrote. It is by these that the 'Complete Lives' which appear within ten days of the departure of great men are chiefly welcomed, enabling them to conceal their ignorance and to join in conversation with others better or worse informed than themselves on the subject of the hour. But Mr. Barnett Smith's book has nothing in common with such valueless productions as the above. Commenced long before the fatal illness of the poet, and aiming at relating the full story of his life and the events of his literary career up to the present year, Fate has willed that with this year the life and the career should close, and thus, as the author says, the 'melancholy

event gives the biographical position of the volume a completeness not originally anticipated.' . . . A portrait of Hugo forms the frontispiece to this well-written account of his life."

"LLOYD'S."

"Vast as is the theme opened up by the consideration of Hugo and his works, Mr. Barnett Smith has so studiously compressed facts that the English public will find in this volume a swift and incisive review that is at once entertaining, instructive, and popular."

"THE CHRISTIAN LEADER."

"The book is unique. Notwithstanding the multitude of criticisms which have appeared in our own and other languages upon Hugo's work, this is the only volume which relates the full story of his life. . . . We have pleasure in recommending Mr. Barnett Smith's volume as the fullest and in every way most satisfactory on its subject that has yet appeared in England."

"LONDON FIGARO."

A very readable study of the great French poet and dramatist."

"TOPICAL TIMES."

"It is clear and succinct, and contains nearly everything it is requisite for the average English reader to know about the illustrious Frenchman. As a record of his literary and dramatic work it is remarkable for well-ordered completeness, while the account of Hugo in exile is free from the common errors which have disfigured the narratives of the majority of those who have dealt with the subject."

"GRAPHIC."

"Though, as Mr. Barnett Smith says, the life of 'Victor Hugo cannot be written in this generation, we still delight to gather the facts, and of these he gives a full budget. The political disagreement between General Hugo and his wife, the prizes at the Toulouse floral games, the courting of Adèle Foucher, the attempts on the Academy (the fourth was successful), the family bereavements, the growth in Republicanism, and the failure as a practical politician, are all detailed and illustrated. We have Victor Hugo wandering alone at night through the streets (like Dickens), or seeking inspiration on the top of an omnibus. We have him canvassing Royer Collard, the Academician, who had never heard of 'Notre Dame' or 'Marion Delorme,' and who, when the canvasser offered him a copy of his works, replied: 'I never read new books.' We have him believing Louis Napoleon's promise: 'I shall follow the path of Washington,' and making a two months' stay at Waterloo before describing the battle in 'Les Misérables.' We have his sojourn in Jersey, and the ridiculous sentence which banished him thence, but only to the neighbouring island. Hugo has been likened to Rousseau (who, living in an age of greater abuses, had a more definite social work) and to Dante and Isaiah (by Mr. Swinburne). Mr. Barnett Smith is quite right in denying him 'the universality of Homer and Shakespeare;' but it is for anecdotes rather than criticism that we go to a work like this, and these are abundant and to the point."

Now Ready, the 10th Thousand of

THE DARK HOUSE:

A KNOT UNRAVELLED.

By George Manville Fenn, Author of "The Vicar's People," &c.

Pictorial Wrapper, 1s.; cloth, 1s. 6d.

OPINIONS OF THE PRESS.

"An inscrutable and bewildering mystery."—*Pall Mall Gazette.*

"Plenty of the elements of excitement and romance."—*Athenæum.*

"'The Dark House' proves that Mr. Fenn can give a pleasant and even a genial air to a shilling dreadful."—*Academy.*

"Keeps the reader engrossed to the end."—*John Bull.*

"Deserves quite as well of the public as 'Called Back.'" *Weekly Echo.*

"Is essentially popular in style, reminding one of 'The Moonstone,' and 'Lady Audley's Secret.'"—*Derby Mercury.*

"Is an enthralling volume, and the dénouement is worked out so cleverly as to produce a fresh surprise for us when we thought our powers of being surprised were exhausted."—*Whitehall Review.*

"Mr. Manville Fenn may be congratulated on the production of a good, honest, blood-curdling romance."—*Saturday Review.*

NOW READY, THE SECOND EDITION OF

RUSSIA UNDER THE TZARS.

By Stepniak, Author of "Underground Russia."

Translated by William Westall. 2 vols. crown 8vo. 18s.

OPINIONS OF THE PRESS.

"Excessively interesting . . . We would bear the most cordial testimony to the excellence of Stepniak's work."—*Times.*

"His vivid and absorbing book should by read and pondered by every one who appreciates the blessings of liberty."—*Daily Telegraph.*

"He exposes the hideous police system, he tells us the secrets of the House of Preventive Detection, of the central prisons, and the Troubetzkoi Ravelin, and gives us graphic sketches of exile life on the shores of the White Sea and in the bagnios of Siberia . . . For all who would form an adequate idea of the present condition of Russia, gauge its capacity for war, or attempt to forecast its future, Stepniak's work is indispensable."—*Spectator.*

"A remarkable work, and it appears at a most opportune moment. . . . The state of things in Russian prisons, so far as political prisoners are concerned, as revealed by Stepniak, is hideous, if it be true. If it be untrue the Russian Government ought, for its own honour's sake, to refute his statements . . . What he describes is terrible."—*Athenæum.*

"Thrilling pictures of the terrors of prison life . . . Tourgenieff and Stepniak, indeed, illustrate one another. Naturally the novelist tells nothing of the worst side, the life in a Yakout hut for instance (fancy the flower of a nation being brutalised by treatment of that kind); the riot produced in a Siberian prison that the governor may account for several escapes, due to gross negligence, by saying that 'the rules were too easy;' the hunger-strikes—prisoners starving themselves to death; the coarse tyranny with its petty tortures; the comic side of the affair—as when of two Belousoffs the wrong one is seized and can't be set free, for the State can't own a mistake . . . We have said nothing of the book as a book, because, being Stepniak's, it is, of course, as interesting as a novel. We fear its thrilling details are true as well as interesting."—*Graphic.*

Now ready at all Booksellers', price 2s., picture boards or 2s. 6d. cloth.

HONEST DAVIE,

By FRANK BARRETT,

Author of "Folly Morrison," &c.

OPINIONS OF THE PRESS.

"Mr Barrett's work has a distinct literary value which raises it above the level of even the better class of fiction. There is quality in his style which makes itself felt at once. . . . Nothing less than excellent."—*Pall Mall Gazette.*

"A remarkable thrilling narrative of intrigue and adventure . . . told with a freshness that is pleasant to find in these days of conventionality. The love-makings, of which the author is not sparing, are told with exceptional force and grace."—*Daily Telegraph.*

"A deservedly and generally praised book, of considerable interest, and even fascination."—*Morning Post.*

"Who that has met and conversed with Honest Davie is not richer for having shaken by the hand one honest, grand-hearted, chivalrous man. . . . When in contemporaneous fiction has a finer character been drawn than that of Lord Kestral? . . . Thackeray, that great master of satire, never was more satirical in his best works than is Mr. Barrett in his portrait of Lord Kestral."—*Whitehall Review.*

"The novel cannot fail to please all classes of readers who hold the wholesome faith that a good plot makes a good novel."—*Globe.*

"The love-making is of a very piquant and interesting sort; some of the scenes and passages are exquisite."—*St. James's Gazette.*

"Worked out with genuine pathos—a pathos not the less effective because Mr. Barrett has been able to dispense with a tragic ending. Considering the romantic nature of the story, a remarkable air of reality has been obtained, chiefly by means of the elaborate completeness with which the characters have been studied. Each is a finished portrait. . . . The most important is, however, that Mr. Barrett has constructed a plot which is not only exceptionally interesting, but is genuinely new."—*Graphic.*

Now ready at all Booksellers', price 3s. 6d.

FOLLY MORRISON.

By FRANK BARRETT,

Author of "Honest Davie," "John Ford," &c.

OPINIONS OF THE PRESS.

"A more lasting and stronger work of fiction than 'Folly Morrison' was never penned yet."—*Whitehall Review.*

Mr. Barrett's powerful story is full of strong situations, which are described with a true dramatic instinct. . . . This novel will give satisfaction of no ordinary kind."—*Athenæum.*

"Reminds us of the vigour and directness of Charles Reade."—*Leeds Mercury.*

"Painful as is the picture of our agricultural life presented by Mr. Frank Barrett in 'Folly Morrison,' there can be no denying its bitter truth. . . . Folly's self-sacrifice during the fiery trials of the Communist outbreak in Paris forms a fitting end to her exciting adventures."—*Lloyd's.*

"A new edition of Mr. Frank Barrett's story, 'Folly Morrison,' will be welcomed by all those who delight in reading a well-told, well-devised story. . . . Regarding the work as an analysis of character, and as an exposition of the working of several weaknesses and passions, the novel will bear comparison with any that has been published of late. It is indeed a very powerful story, and in its present one-volume form it will be read with great satisfaction."—*Scotsman.*

"A story of singular power and ability."—*Derby Mercury.*

"The characters are boldly drawn, and retain throughout a well-marked individuality."—*Freeman's Journal.*

Now ready at all Booksellers', price 6s.

A FIFTH EDITION OF

GREAT PORTER SQUARE: A MYSTERY.

By B. L. FARJEON.

Author of "GRIF," "THE HOUSE OF WHITE SHADOWS," &c.

———:o:o:———

OPINIONS OF THE PRESS.

"A masterpiece of realistic fiction . . . The descriptions of Mrs. Preedy's surroundings and of the worthy landlady herself are not inferior to Dickens at his best."—*Morning Post.*

"The fascination of breathless interest."—*Literary World.*

"The Lamia of the story is as fair and deadly a creature as ever lured a man to destruction. . . . All the personages of the tale are vigorously drawn."—*Spectator.*

"Full of interest and excitement,"—*Court Journal.*

"One of the cleverest and most fascinating stories of the day. . . . A thrilling combination of the romance and tragedy of every-day life."—*Society.*

"Holds the reader's attention, and keeps him in excited expectation."—*St. James's Gazette.*

"Mrs. Preedy, the landlady of No. 118, Great Porter Square, is almost worthy of a place in the Dickens' gallery. . . . A sensational story, which shows a high order of invention and skill."—*Academy.*

"The most sensational of recent novels. . . . By his realism he proclaims himself the last and best of a long line of story-tellers descended through Wilkie Collins from Defoe: by his sentiment and minute characterisation he is more than ever a follower of the method of Dickens; but this clever Mystery which will enhance his reputation, gives further proof that he possesses distinct virtues of his own. It would be impossible, even it were desirable, to convey in a few words the outlines of his plot. Readers who like sensational stories will find in 'Great Porter Square' a dramatic narrative of unusual power."—*Athenæum.*

Now ready at all Booksellers', price 6s.

THE HOUSE OF WHITE SHADOWS.

By B. L. FARJEON,

Author of "Grif," "Great Porter Square," &c.

OPINIONS OF THE PRESS.

"A work of singular power . . . A wonderful analysis of human character and motive . . . Not many novels have been published in which such a character as that of the Advocate has been treated with so much firmness and command, and so much of almost startling vigour. The novel is one to be read. It will interest those who love sensationalism. It will interest still more those who think that in such books it is good to find an attempt to analyse human motives, and to present sound and valuable lessons in a palatable form." —*Scotsman.*

"Strange and fanciful. . . . A genuine bit of romance, powerfully told.'—*The World.*

"An ably-written, interesting, even engrossing tale of the sensational and romantic order, but having something in it, too, above and beyond what is usually to be found in productions of that class. . . . It would be unfair to tell too much of a story that depends in so great a degree on sensational and startling incidents . . . has more romantic material in it than goes to the making of many a long novel."—*Saturday Review.*

"An exciting story . . . The reader will find himself interested in the very parts his experience has told him he ought to skip . . . The story at times gives the reader a pleasant sensation of unexpectedness."—*Athenæum.*

"A jewel of its kind."—*St James's Gazette.*

"There is a peculiar charm in Mr. Farjeon's writing. Tenderness of thought, fineness of description, and broad humanity, are among his chief characteristics. His pictured portraits are living people. . . . In 'The House of White Shadows' he strikes new ground, with the same marked mastery of style and effect. . . . There is a great fascination in the scenes and descriptions, and in the story itself . . . Mr. Farjeon's writing throughout is that of a master of his art.'—*Society.*

"Mr. Farjeon has the art of weaving his threads of interest so as to hold fast the attention of his readers."—*St. Stephen's Review.*

NOW READY AT ALL BOOKSELLERS'

Price 3s. 6d.

GRIF:

A STORY OF AUSTRALIAN LIFE.

BY B. L. FARJEON,

Author of "GREAT PORTER SQUARE," &c.

OPINIONS OF THE PRESS.

"Admirers of Mr. Farjeon's work—and we believe their name is legion—will gladly welcome a reprint of this popular story in a single volume of good type. The book is in a charming cover of *eau de nil* and black."—*Whitehall Review.*

"A capital story of Australian life, issued by him first many years ago: it is one of the best stories he has produced, and full of high dramatic interest. There is no wonder, then, that it has gone into this single-volume form, in which it will assuredly be popular."—*Scotsman.*

"A nicely-bound and well-printed edition in one volume of Mr. B. L. Farjeon's strikingly clever and unconventional novel, 'Grif,' a story of Australian life in its wildest and most picturesquely *bizarre* stage, when the rush to the gold fields was at its fiercest and the country crammed with adventurers and desperadoes. All the strange medley of greed and self-sacrifice, of uncouth semi-barbarity and growing civilisation, of vice, squalor, and misery jostling sudden accessions to fortune, and in close contiguity to comparatively peaceful pastoral life—all the curious contrasts of character which every new colony presents are drawn by Mr. Farjeon with a powerful and truthful pen. The story is brimful of humour and pathos, and the reader never once finds the interest flag from cover to cover. The new edition is an excellent one, and should prove popular."—*Society.*

"A story in which the pathos, excitement, and native roughness of Australian life are most graphically portrayed."—*Lloyd's.*

Now ready at all Booksellers', price 6s.

THE FOURTH EDITION OF

PROPER PRIDE.

By B. M. CROKER,

Author of "Pretty Miss Neville," &c.

OPINIONS OF THE PRESS.

"An exceedingly clever story. It abounds, moreover, in telling situations, some of them admirably comic, while others are touching; and it is thoroughly original."—*Times.*

"The story is a very good one, highly written, and interesting to the end."—*Morning Post.*

"A consistently humorous story, although it often touches the pathetic, and is frequently verging on the tragic."—*Saturday Review.*

"We desire to record the pleasure it has given us to read a bright clever novel, full of interest, distinguished by good taste and an excellent style."—*Spectator.*

"Mr. Gladstone was observed the other night, during a heated debate on the hated Clôture, to be reading a novel! Some curiosity was manifested to ascertain the name of the particular romance with which he was endeavouring to beguile the weary hours; and it is satisfactory to state that it was 'Proper Pride.' It is to be hoped that the Premier will take the moral to heart. This is the novel which the leading journal reviewed twice within a month." *Court Journal.*

"A well-written story, told with spirit, and enlivened with lively incident."—*Leeds Mercury.*

Now ready at all Booksellers', price, 2s. Picture boards; cloth, 2s. 6d.

UNDER ST. PAUL'S.

By RICHARD DOWLING.

OPINIONS OF THE PRESS.

"If his fame had not previously been assured, the three volumes now before us would make good his title, for the power he displays takes the reader captive in the first chapter."—*British Mail.*

"The *folle du logis* runs riot through the three volumes. So bright and sparkling is her flight, that the reader endeavours in vain to chase her home. . . . Mr. Dowling is perhaps the author of our day who possesses the greatest share of imagination."—*Court Journal.*

"Mr. Dowling has given us an original, interesting and finally charming heroine."—*Graphic.*

"The admirers of 'The Mystery of Killard' and 'The Weird Sisters,' will find little of what fascinated them in those exciting tales in 'Under St. Paul's,' except the fluent, easy manner of narration, the power of describing graceful feminine character, and the vividness of style which Mr. Dowling has it in his power to exercise at all times. . . . It appears to us to be the most thoughtful, finished and powerful work of the author's that we have seen. . . . 'Under St. Paul's is a book to be read rather than described."—*Daily News.*

"The more thoughtful section of the reading public will own that the interest attaching to George Osborne's life history, is of a more absorbing nature than any which could have been derived from a record of improbable horrors or adventure. The book is, in point of fact, a long and very cleverly worked out psychological study. . . . Will give Mr. Dowling a much higher place in fiction than he had previously attained."—*Morning Post.*

"There is not one amongst the novelists who have come before the public during the last two or three years who has won a wider circle of hearers by the sheer unaided force of his own ability than Mr. Dowling!. . . He is, in the widest sense of the term, an original writer. . . . It is impossible in any description to do justice to the delicacy, the suggestiveness and the insight with which this plot is developed and wrought out."—*Scotsman.*

Now ready at all Booksellers, price, 2*s.* picture boards; 2*s.* 6*d.* cloth.

THE DUKE'S SWEETHEART.

By RICHARD DOWLING.

Author of "Under St. Paul's," "The Sport of Fate," &c.

OPINIONS OF THE PRESS.

"Clever, and even fascinating."—*Standard.*

"The author of 'Les Misérables' may, indeed, be taken to be Mr. Dowling's master. Resemblances must strike even the most careless and rapid reader. . . . It is refreshing to the weary novel-reader to recognise that a certain amount of thought has been brought to bear not only upon the composition of the sentences, but upon their matter . . . In his manner of dealing with his plot his last novel shows an improvement on all the others, and he may be congratulated upon having written a powerful and decidedly exciting book."—*Athenæum.*

"Fresh, free, and powerful, the work of a master's hand, is 'The Duke's Sweetheart.' Strong elements are employed with great artistic skill to give force and depth of colour sufficient to enable the author to create his effects. There are bits of unsurpassed pictorial writing in these volumes so powerfully wrought out and described that the romance almost takes the form of reality . . . Mr. Dowling, as a novelist, has many great characteristics; he possesses marked descriptive talent, and also the power of individualising his characters; they are real. We find ourselves accepting their words and actions as though they were living people."—*Life.*

"A good and interesting novel, full of exciting details, and containing at least one episode—that of the shipwrecked yacht—which may challenge comparison with anything in recent fiction. . . . As for the description of the Duke's disastrous voyage, it is simply perfect. The author has never been seen to greater advantage than in this portion of the narrative, at once so realistic and so full of the truest romance; and the final rescue, when the yacht is breaking to pieces on the reef, is tremendous in its power."—*Morning Post.*

"No novel-writer of the present day—not even Mr. Dowling himself—could write a better work of fiction than this. . . . Mr. Richard Dowling has managed to give us a work of the most powerful interest, and to create in the reader's mind the most intense curiosity even to the very end. . . . No more charming and delicate conception has ever been portrayed in fiction than that of Marion Durrant."—*Court Journal.*

Now ready, in 2 vols., price 6*s.* per volume.

COURT LIFE BELOW STAIRS;

OR,

LONDON UNDER THE FOUR GEORGES.

By J. FITZGERALD MOLLOY,

Author of "The Life and Adventures of Peg Woffington,"

&c.

OPINIONS OF THE PRESS.

"Mr. Molloy's style is crisp, and carries the reader along; his portraits of the famous men and women of the time are etched with care, and his narrative rises to intensity and dramatic impressiveness as he follows the latter days of Queen Caroline."—*British Quarterly Review.*

"Mr. Molloy's style is bright and fluent, picturesque and animated, and he tells his stories with unquestionable skill and vivacity."—*Athenæum.*

"The narrative is fluent and amusing, and is far more instructive than nine-tenths of the novels published now-a-days."—*St. James's Gazette.*

"Mr. Molloy's narrative is concise, and exhibits a wide acquaintance with the men and manners of the age. The anecdotes of famous men of fashion, wits, fools, or knaves introduced are amusing, and several not generally known enliven the pages."—*Morning Post.*

"Well written, full of facts bearing on every subject under consideration, and abounding with anecdotes of gay and witty debauchees."—*Daily Telegraph.*

"What Pepys has done for the Stuarts, Mr. Molloy has done for their Hanoverian successors. The result of his arduous investigations is one of the most interesting works which has ever come under our notice. It is impossible to open the books at any part without feeling an overpowering desire to continue the perusal."—*Newcastle Chronicle.*

NOW READY AT ALL BOOKSELLERS'.

In one vol. Crown 8vo. 3s. 6d.

A NEW COOKERY BOOK.

PHILOSOPHY IN THE KITCHEN:

GENERAL HINTS ON FOODS AND DRINKS.

By the Author of

THE REMINISCENCES OF AN OLD BOHEMIAN," &c.

—*—

OPINIONS OF THE PRESS.

—*—

"Full of useful hints on food, drink and the general ordering of the kitchen."—*Queen.*

"A remarkable book, cleverly written, full of thought, and brimming over with original suggestions."—*British Confectioner.*

"A smartly written and really clever budget of recipes and suggestions."—*Society.*

"Written by one who evidently knows his work. . . He writes sensibly about food, how it should be cooked and dressed, and he has many a good and novel hint to give."—*Whitehall Review.*

"Some capital receipts and culinary hints interspersed with many gossipy anecdotes. We are much indebted to him for having told us how to prepare more than one curious dish, and how to mix half a dozen strange but seductive drinks."—*St. James's Gazette.*

EXCITING NEW STORY

BY

THE AUTHOR OF

"ONCE FOR ALL," &c.

PRICE ONE SHILLING.

"HUNTED DOWN."

BY

MAX HILARY, Author of

"ONCE FOR ALL," &c.

WARD & DOWNEY, PUBLISHERS,
12, YORK STREET, COVENT GARDEN, LONDON.

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA LIBRARY
Los Angeles

This book is DUE on the last date stamped below.

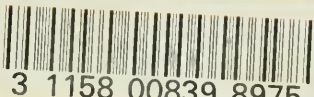
REC'D LD-URL
DEC 19 1982
LD
URL
JAN 14 1983

REC'D LD-URL
ORION
LD/URL FEB 19 '90
FEB 05 1990

Form L9–Series 4939

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA
AT
LOS ANGELES
LIBRARY

Gaylord
GAYLAMOUNT®
PAMPHLET BINDER



UC SOUTHERN REGIONAL LIBRARY FACILITY